

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 05902 01 OF 03 042116Z

72

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3062

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 5902

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-81

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: CURRENT WORKING TEXT OF DRAFT ATLANTIC
DECLARATION

FOLLOWING REPRESENTS CURRENT WORKING TEXT OF ATLANTIC
DECLARATION DRAFT. IT IS A COMPOSITE OF FRENCH NOVEMBER 12
DRAFT AS TRANSLATED BY UK DEL (USNATO 5636), PLUS THOSE
AMENDMENTS SUGGESTED BY OTHER ALLIES WHICH THE FRENCH HAVE
FOUND ACCEPTABLE OR HAVE ACCEPTED IN MODIFIED FORM. ALSO
IDENTIFIED ARE SPECIFIC LANGUAGE CHANGES FORMALLY SANCTIONED
BY CAPITALS AND PROPOSED BY PERMREPS WHETHER OR NOT THESE HAVE
BEEN ACCEPTED BY FRENCH. WE HAVE ALSO INCORPORATED SUGGESTED
U.S. REVISIONS IN TEXT (STATE 236115 EXDIS) ALTHOUGH SPECIFICS
OF THESE HAVE NOT YET BEEN LAID ON TABLE. IT SHOULD BE NOTED
THAT TEXT BELOW WILL DIFFER IN MINOR WORDING CHANGES FROM THE
NEW IS DRAFT CURRENTLY IN PREPARATION (USNATO 5876 EXDIS).

BEGEN TEXT:

1. THE MEMBERS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE DECLARE THAT
THE TREATY WHICH THEY SIGNED TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, TO PRE-
SERVE THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE (AFTER A WAR WHICH HAD
ALMOST DEPRIVED THEM OF BOTH) (GREEKS PROPOSED AND FRENCH
ACCEPTED REMOVAL OF BRACKETED LANGUAGE) HAS SET THE SEAL ON
THE COMMON DESTINY OF THE COUNTRIES ON EUROPE, THE UNITED
STATES AND CANADA. UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE TREATY,
(WESTERN EUROPE) (GREECE SUGGESTS REPLACING "WESTERN EUROPE")
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 05902 01 OF 03 042116Z

WITH "THE EUROPEAN ALLIES") HAS BEEN ABLE TO REBUILD FROM ITS
RUINS, TO ATTAIN AN UNPRECEDENTED LEVEL OF PROSPERITY AND TO
LAY THE FOUNDATIONS OF ITS UNITY, (WHILE THE WESTERN WORLD
REGAINED ITS SELF-CONFIDENCE AND ENSURED THE SPREAD OF THOSE

CIVILIZED VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH ITS NAME.) (NORWAY SUGGESTS
DELETION OF BRACKETED CLAUSE)

2. MEANWHILE, GREAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED ON THE ROAD
TOWARDS DETENTE AND HARMONY BETWEEN NATIONS, TO A POINT WHERE A
CONFERENCE INVOLVING 35 COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA
(IS PREPARING) (GREECE SUGGESTS "IS TRYING" FOR "IS PREPARING";
FRANCE SUGGESTS "INTENDS") TO LAY DOWN THE RIGHT GUIDELINES FOR
INCREASING SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. THE MEMBERS OF
THE ALLIANCE WELCOME THIS (INSERT: "AND REAFFIRM THAT THEIR
GOALS IN EUROPE REMAIN THE SEARCH FOR DETENTE AND COOPERATION
WITH ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE CONTINENT"--DANISH VERSION)
(INSERT: "AND WILL DO EVERYTHING IN THEIR POWER TO IMPROVE
EUROPEAN SECURITY BY MEANS OF THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS
BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE AND
BY THE ELIMINATION OF THE MILITARY CONFRONTATION. THEY
NONETHELESS FEEL THAT AS LONG AS CIRCUMSTANCES DO NOT
PERMIT"; THEREFORE, DELETE "BUT UNTIL CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT"
--NETHERLANDS VERSION, SUPPORTED BY NORWAY) BUT UNTIL
CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT THE INTRODUCTION OF (GENERAL, COMPLETE)
(GREECE SUGGESTS REPLACEMENT OF "GENERAL, COMPLETE" BY
"BALANCED") AND CONTROLLED DISARMAMENT, WHICH ALONE COULD
PROVIDE GENUINE SECURITY FOR ALL, THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT (CURRENT
DEVELOPMENTS, FAR FROM BEING INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE AIMS OF
THE TREATY WHICH UNITES THEM, IMPOSE ON THEM THE OBLIGATION
TO MAINTAIN THE MUTUAL LINKS DERIVING FROM THIS TREATY.)
(FRANCE SUGGESTS REPLACING BRACKETED LANGUAGE WITH "IT IS
IMPORTANT THAT THE LINKS WHICH BIND THEM BE MAINTAINED.") STATES
THAT WISH TO PRESERVE PEACE HAVE NEVER ACHIEVED THIS AIM BY
NEGLECTING THE DEMANDS OF THEIR OWN SECURITY. (NORWAY
SUGGESTS MOVING PARAGRAPH 11 TO NUMBER TWO POSITION.)

3. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY HAVE COME TO REALIZE THAT THE CONTEXT
OF THEIR COMMON DEFENSE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLY MODIFIED IN THE LAST
TEN YEARS. SINCE IT IS ONLY THEIR STRATEGIC ARMS THAT RENDER
THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION MUTUALLY VULNERABLE,
THE BALANCE ESTABLISHED IN THIS FIELD BETWEEN THEM GIVES A
SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 05902 01 OF 03 042116Z

STRONG ELEMENT OF STABILITY TO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THESE TWO
POWERS. BUT THIS DOES NOT HOLD GOOD FOR EUROPE, WHICH REMAINS
PARTICULARLY EXPOSED TO ALL OTHER FORMS OF CONFLICT, SO THAT THE
PROBLEM OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE TAKES ON AN INCREASINGLY DISTINCTIVE
CHARACTER. (LUXEMBOURG WOULD ADD "WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK
OF NATO.") (NORWAY WOULD ADD "FOR THE ALLIANCE") (U.S. PROPOSES
THAT TEXT BE REDRAFTED TO READ: "AT THE SAME TIME, THEY NOTE
THAT, WHILE THE CONTEXT OF THEIR COMMON DEFENSE HAS BEEN CON-
SIDERABLY MODIFIED IN THE LAST TEN YEARS, INCLUDING
THE EVOLUTION INTO APPROXIMATE BALANCE OF THE STRATEGIC RELA-
TIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET
UNION, THE TERRITORIES AND FORCES OF ALL OF THE MEMBER
STATES OF THE ALLIANCE REMAIN VULNERABLE TO ATTACK. IN PARTICULAR,

THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE AGAINST NON-NUCLEAR ATTACK TAKES ON AN INCREASINGLY COMPLEX CHARACTER AS AN ASPECT OF ALLIANCE DEFENSES. THE NORTH AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN ALLIES, BY FREELY CHOOSING TO ADHERE TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT AN ATTACK ON ONE OR MORE SHALL BE CONSIDERED AN ATTACK AGAINST THEM ALL, AND BY CHOOSING TO STATION ARMED FORCES IN THE TERRITORY OF THEIR ALLIES, SHARE AS PARTNERS IN ALL ASPECTS OF THE DEFENSE OF THE ENTIRE TREATY AREA, AND THEREBY DIMINISH THE DANGERS TO WHICH ANY INDIVIDUAL MEMBER COUNTRY WOULD OTHERWISE BE EXPOSED.")

SECRET

PAGE 01 NATO 05902 02 OF 03 042148Z

72

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

----- 029447

O 042055Z DEC 73

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 USNATO 5902

EXDIS

4. (THIS NEW SITUATION HAS BASICALLY PRODUCED NON CHANGE.) (U.S. SUGGESTS DELETION) THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE REAFFIRM THAT THERE IS (AT PRESENT) (U.S. SUGGESTS DELETION, NORWAY ALSO FAVORS) (FRG SUGGESTS REPLACEMENT BY "IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE") NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE SECURITY PROVIDED BY THE NUCLEAR FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES, (WHETHER BASED IN AMERICA OR EUROPE.) (ITALY AND LUXEMBOURG SUGGEST DELETING BRACKETED LANGUAGE) (FRANCE SUGGESTS CHANGING IT TO READ "BASED IN THE U.S. AND EUROPE.")

5. NEVERTHELESS, THE ALLIANCE MUST NOW PAY MORE CAREFUL ATTENTION TO THE DANGERS TO WHICH IT IS EXPOSED IN THE EUROPEAN REGION, AND MUST ADOPT ALL MEASURES NECESSARY TO AVERT THEM. THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS, WHO PROVIDE (THREE-QUARTERS OF THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES OF THE ALLIANCE) (U.S. SUGGESTS REPLACING WITH "NINETY PERCENT OF THE MEN UNDER ARMS") IN EUROPE, AND TWO OF WHOM POSSESS NUCLEAR FORCES CAPABLE OF PLAYING A DETERRENT ROLE OF THEIR OWN, UNDERTAKE TO MAKE THE NECESSARY CONTRIBUTION TO MAINTAIN THE COMMON DEFENSE AT A LEVEL CAPABLE OF DETERRING ALL ACTIONS DIRECTED AGAINST THEIR INDEPENDENCE OR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND OF REPELLING ALL AGGRESSION SHOULD DETERRENCE FAIL. THE UNITED STATES FOR ITS PART DECLARES THAT IT WILL NOT TOLERATE ANY SITUATION WHICH WOULD EXPOSE EUROPE TO EXTERNAL POLITICAL OR MILITARY PRESSURE LIKELY TO DEPRIVE IT OF ITS FREEDOM. THE UNITED STATES REAFFIRMS THAT IT WILL MAINTAIN ITS FORCES IN EUROPE AT THE LEVEL REQUIRED

TO SUSTAIN THE CREDIBILITY OF THE STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE AND TO
MAINTAIN THE CAPACITY TO DEFEND THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA SHOULD
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 05902 02 OF 03 042148Z

DETERRENCE FAIL; (AND THAT THE AIM OF ITS AGREEMENT OF 22ND
JUNE, 1973 WITH THE SOVIET UNION IS TO PREVENT WAR IN ALL ITS
FORMS, NOT TO LAY DOWN RULES AND LIMITS UNDER WHICH WAR WOULD
BE WAGED.) (U.S. SUGGESTS DELETION)

6. IN THIS CONNECTION, SINCE THE GOAL OF ANY DEFENSE POLICY IS
TO FRUSTRATE THE OBJECTIVES WHICH A POTENTIAL ADVERSARY WOULD
SEEK TO SECURE BY STARTING A WAR, THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE
AFFIRM THAT ALL THEIR FORCES WOULD IF NECESSARY BE USED
FOR THIS PURPOSE. (U.S. SUGGESTS ADDING: "NONETHELESS,
THE ALLIES REAFFIRM THAT THE AIM OF THEIR POLICIES IS
TO PREVENT WAR IN ALL ITS FORMS, AND NOT TO LAY DOWN RULES
AND LIMITS UNDER WHICH WAR WOULD BE WAGED.")

7. THE COMMON DEFENSE IS INDEED BINDING UPON ALL AND
INDIVISIBLE. THE COMMON AIM IS TO MAINTAIN THE CAPACITY
TO PREVENT THE OUTBREAK OF A CONFLICT. (IN WHICH, THROUGH
THE DESTRUCTION OF EUROPE'S INDEPENDENCE, THE SUBJECTION OF
THE WORLD WOULD BE AT STAKE.) (NORWAY SUGGESTS DELETION)

8. WITH THIS IN VIEW, IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT THE CONTINUED
PRESENCE OF SUBSTANTIAL AMERICAN FORCES IN EUROPE PLAYS AN
INDISPENSABLE ROLE IN THE DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES, AS MUCH
AS OF THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. (CANADA SUGGESTS ADDING CLAUSE
TO FIRST SENTENCE: "JUST AS THE ROLE OF CANADIAN FORCES IN
EUROPE IS FOR THE DEFENSE OF CANADA AS WELL AS FOR THAT OF
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.") (FRANCE SUGGESTS REPLACING SENTENCE
WITH "IN THIS PERSPECTIVE, IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT A CONTINUED
SUBSTANTIAL PRESENCE OF AMERICAN FORCES IN EUROPE PLAYS AN
IRREPLACEABLE ROLE IN THE DEFENSE OF THE U.S. AND THE EUROPEAN
COUNTRIES. IN A SIMILAR MANNER, CANADIAN FORCES ARE IN EUROPE
FOR THE DEFENSE OF CANADA AS WELL AS FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.") SIMILARLY, THE PROGRESS OF THE EUROPEAN
ECONOMIC COMMUNITY TOWARDS POLITICAL UNION SHOULD, IN DUE COURSE,
HAVE BENEFICIAL EFFECTS (ON THE DEFENSE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THOSE
OF ITS MEMBER STATES WHO ARE AT THE SAME TIME MEMBERS OF THE
ALLIANCE.) (TURKEY SUGGESTS REPLACING BRACKETED LANGUAGE
WITH: "ON THE INDIVISIBLE DEFENSE OF THE ALLIANCE.")
(FRANCE SUGGESTS FINAL CLAUSE: "HAVE BENEFICIAL EFFECTS
ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF THOSE OF ITS MEMBER STATES WHO ARE
ALSO MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.") (FRG SUGGESTS
SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 05902 02 OF 03 042148Z

ADDING NEW LAST SENTENCE: "THE CLOSE COOPERATION OF THE
EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE WITH A VIEW TO RATIONALIZE
AND TO HARMONIZE THEIR SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICIES AS

WELL AS TO GUIDE THEIR DEFENSE EFFORTS IS IMPORTANT FOR THE ALLIANCE AND FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A UNITED EUROPE.")

9. THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE CONSIDER THAT THE WILL TO COMBINE THEIR EFFORTS TO ENSURE THEIR COMMON DEFENSE OBLIGES THEM TO NEGLECT NOTHING WHICH MIGHT IMPROVE THE EFFICIENCY OF THEIR OWN FORCES, AND THAT EACH COUNTRY SHOULD UNDERTAKE, IN LINE (WITH ITS POSITION) (GREECE AND TURKEY WISH TO REPLACE "WITH ITS POSITION" BY "WITH ITS MEANS") IN THE ALLIANCE, ITS PROPER SHARE OF THE BURDEN OF MAINTAINING THE SECURITY OF ALL. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY CONSIDER THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE ACCEPTED IN THE CONTEXT OF CURRENT OR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH COULD REDUCE THAT SECURITY.

10. THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE CONVINCED, NOW AS EVER, THAT THESE AIMS WILL ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY THE MAINTENANCE OF CLOSE CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION IN MUTUAL TRUST ON ALL THEIR COMMON PROBLEMS SINCE DETENTE AND DEFENSE ARE COMPLEMENTARY, THEY WILL IN PARTICULAR KEEP EACH OTHER INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS AND PROGRESS IN EAST WEST RELATIONS. (FRG SUGGESTS ADDING AS NEW THIRD SENTENCE: "FURTHERMORE THE ALLIES WILL CONSULT WHENEVER A CONFLICT OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA COULD ENDANGER THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE.") FURTHERMORE, WHILE CARRYING OUT THE INDIVIDUAL OBLIGATIONS AND COMMITMENTS THEY HAVE JOINTLY UNDERTAKEN, THEY WILL CONTINUE TO REMOVE SOURCES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THEIR RESPECTIVE ECONOMIC POLICIES, AND TO ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE.

SECRET

PAGE 01 NATO 05902 03 OF 03 042208Z

72

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

----- 029700

O 042055Z DEC 73

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 USNATO 5902

EXDIS

11. THEY RECALL THAT THEIR SOLIDARITY IS BASED ON A COMMON DEDICATION TO THE (IDEALS) (NETHERLANDS PROPOSED REPLACING "IDEALS" WITH "PRINCIPLES"; FRENCH FIRST ACCEPTED THIS CHANGE AND LATER SUGGESTED THAT FIRST CLAUSE, SENTENCE 1 READ: "THEY RECALL THAT THEIR SOLIDARITY SHOULD BE FOUNDED ON A COMMON ATTACHMENT TO DEMOCRACY,") OF DEMOCRACY, RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, JUSTICE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, WHICH ARE THE FRUITS OF THEIR SHARED SPIRITUAL HERITAGE. (NETHERLANDS PROPOSED AND

FRENCH ACCEPTED ADDITION OF "WHICH THEY HAVE DECIDED TO MAINTAIN.") SINCE THESE PRINCIPLES, BY THEIR VERY NATURE, FORBID ANY RECOURSE TO METHODS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE, THEY REAFFIRM THAT THE EFFORTS WHICH THEY MAKE TO PRESERVE THEIR INDEPENDENCE, TO MAINTAIN THEIR SECURITY AND TO IMPROVE THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THEIR PEOPLES EXCLUDE ALL FORMS OF AGGRESSION AGAINST ANYONE, ARE NOT DIRECTED AGAINST ANY OTHER COUNTRY, AND ARE DESIGNED TO BRING ABOUT THE GENERAL IMPROVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

IN EUROPE, THEIR OBJECTIVE CONTINUES TO BE THE PURSUIT OF UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION WITH EVERY EUROPEAN COUNTRY. IN THE WORLD AT LARGE, THEY RECOGNIZE THEIR SPECIAL OBLIGATIONS TOWARDS THOSE WHO HAVE NOT YET BENEFITED FROM ALL THE ADVANTAGES OF ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS. (NETHERLANDS SUGGESTS MOVING TEXT OF ENTIRE PARAGRAPH 11 TO BECOME NEW SECOND PARAGRAPH.)

12. IN SO DOING, THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THE TASK THEY OFFER THEIR PEOPLES, AND IN PARTICULAR THEIR YOUTH, IS EQUAL TO
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 05902 03 OF 03 042208Z

THEIR VIGOUR AND ASPIRATIONS. FREEDOM DEMANDS THAT THOSE WHO WISH TO ENJOY IT MUST ALSO BEAR FULLY ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. (NORWAY PREFERS TO DROP PARAGRAPH 12. AS ALTERNATIVE, COULD ACCEPT COMBINING PARAGRAPH 12 WITH NEW PARAGRAPH 13 SUGGESTED BY DUTCH, BELOW, TO READ: "IN THEIR COOPERATION, THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE WILL BE CONSCIOUS OF THE NEED TO RESPOND TO THE HOPES AND AMBITIONS OF THEIR PEOPLES AND ESPECIALLY OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION. THEY HAVE AGREED TO REVIEW PERIODICALLY THE STATE OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP AND TO EVALUATE PROGRESS TOWARDS THE REALIZATION OF THE AIMS AND PRINCIPLES SET FORTH IN THIS DECLARATION.")

13. (NETHERLANDS SUGGESTS ADDING AS THIRTEENTH PARAGRAPH: "THE SIGNATORIES HAVE AGREED TO REVIEW PERIODICALLY THE STATE OF THEIR RELATIONSHIPS AND TO EVALUATE PROGRESS TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF THE AIMS AND PRINCIPLES SET FORTH IN THIS DECLARATION.")
END TEXT.
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